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THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SITUATION AND THE MOVEMENTS
OF YOUNG OFFICERS SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR I UNTIL
THE SHOWA ERA

Our country participated in World War I for the sake of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, fighting on the side of the Allies against GERMANY and the other members of the central Powers. However, except for driving away German influence from the Continent of CHINA and the Pacific Ocean, despatching a part of our fleet to the Mediterranean Sea, and supplying the Allies, chiefly RUSSIA with a certain quantity of arms, we did little fighting. Even in the siege operations against TSINGTAO, which was our principal action, we despatched only a little more than one division. The number of airplanes used was negligible. Thereafter, while all the Powers were waging a desperate fight during World War I, we were mainly engaged in peaceful industry and did no more than supply the world with our products.

Now the armament of each country before World War I consisted chiefly of rifles and fire-arms. Tanks had not yet come into existence, and automatic fire-arms were still in the cradle. Thenceforth, with the development of airplanes, newly invented arms appeared one after another and the method of fighting underwent great changes. The reinforcement of the military force took the form of an overall war. Thus in every country great strides were made in the people's interest in war and their close observation of international affairs, and the mode of fighting entered an epoch-making period of renovation. At the same time this situation taught us the necessity of studying more profoundly international law than ever. At any rate for three years and a half of World War I, each country concentrated

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its industrial production to the manufacture of arms. In the battlefield, on the basis of the experience gained in the war, both attack and defense tactics made great strides, thereby utterly changing pre-war tactics. The progress in the manufacture of tanks, airplanes, automatic fire-arms, use of mechanized units and improvements in electric communication made possible fighting over a broad area. Thus was brought about the first stage of combined-land-sea-and air-warfare, so-called great war type, during World War I. After World War I, all the Powers tried on the one hand their best to build a post-war type of complete triphibious, or land-sea-and-air, armaments on the basis of the rich experience gained in World War I. On the other hand, they did their utmost to avoid another such war, and to make arrangements among the Powers concerning security including disarmament in order to recover their national strength during the post-war period and hastened to dispose of the surplus armaments manufactured during the war. Moreover, World War I was the greatest war on record. With the peoples of various countries turning their eyes away from the wretched spectacle caused by poison gas, flame-throwers and air raids; peace sentiment reached the high-water mark, and peaceful atmosphere prevailed throughout the world. This was human nature and it was quite natural that men should do their best to avoid the recurrence of such a great war in order to promote the welfare of mankind.

In short, both armaments and tactics, developed at two bounds, from the pre-war type into the most modern post-war type. For the maintenance of eternal peace in the world, various conferences were held and many treaties and agreements concluded. But it is really regrettable that, in

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spite of these various arrangements, suspicions remained, and it is clear that the Powers were bent on building armaments adapted to the new age. So a remarkable development in tanks and airplanes was seen. Though the treaties prohibited the use of poison gas or resort to air-raids, all the Powers vied with one another in preparing gas-masks and adopting measures for the defense of cities. Judging from this, it seems that, in spite of their desperate efforts for the establishment of peace, they were lacking in the philosophic conception comprising views of life, world, and the universe, which should be the fundamental principle of peace, and also lacking in sincerity toward love of mankind. Be the matter what it may, notwithstanding the efforts of the intelligentsia of the world, the situation did not go beyond the state of camouflaged peace. Naturally, to our great regret there was a general tendency for every country to speed up the completion of national defense from the point of view of self-defense. Such was the state of things during and after World War I. The Powers that had employed enormous military forces in the battlefields of Europe made remarkable progress in various spheres by dint of their participation in a war in which their fates were at stake. On the other hand, looking back upon the state of affairs in our country, it is regrettable that, because of our country's remote distance from the main battlefields of Europe, we held aloof from the warfare and all ideas concerning war, with the result that we fell behind the times when everything was progressing in dead earnest. Naturally we lost soundness of thought and customs, and there was a general tendency of decadence among our people. At this juncture the peaceful atmosphere of the world was generated in Japan also. As neither progress nor repletion of national power

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had been attained during World War I, our national defense had naturally remained in the state of pre-war type. And yet amidst such a state of affairs, the argument that armaments were unnecessary swayed the whole nation, thus bringing about a serious situation. On the other hand, the sincere wish for security of peace which was treasured in Europe finally resulted in the establishment of the League of Nations. However, as it seems that the skeleton of its structure was planned mostly with reference to Europe, the League appeared to be of secondary importance to the actual situation of the Orient which was far away from the main battlefield.

Looking back upon the state of affairs in the Far East at that time, we find, much to our regret, incessant civil wars going on in China, which should be our eternal friend. It was, so to speak, an age of rival warlords, such that even the existence of sovereignty was threatened. Especially in Manchuria, which had the closest relation with our country, the state of affairs was very disturbing. And though I do not know the reason, anti-foreign sentiment was then rampant in China, and anti-Japanese feeling and anti-Japanese education were much encouraged in spite of the fact that Japan, taking the intentions of the Powers into consideration and in accordance with her original declaration returned to China, Tsingtao, which she had captured from Germany with bloody sacrifices. The fate of Outer Mongol, too, was quite uncertain, and a general feeling of unrest increased in the adjacent regions. In Chosen, the Manzui Incident broke out. Soviet Russia steadily pushed eastward, her various establishments and the relation between Soviet Russia and our country, which had been steadily stabilized

Def. Doc. # 674 With the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries, did not improve to the extent desired, due to the provocations caused by the abortive attempt of a certain Daisuke NAIKA, a Communist, to kill the Emperor (the then Prince Regent) who was riding an automobile at Toranomon. A friendly feeling between England, America and Japan continued to exist, but the denunciation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and racial discrimination against the Japanese by the United States caused some gaps in the sentiments between Japan and these two countries, such that by the middle years of the Taisho Era, people of intelligence came to entertain grave concern over the situation. That is to say, the situation in the Orient following World War I had not been so stabilized as in Europe, but rather aggravated than in pre-war days, such that the actual state of affairs could hardly be measured by the simple ordinary rules. This is why, on the occasion of the establishment of the League of Nations, I prayed for the success and the realization of its lofty ideals and spirit through the application of its machinery in conformity with the actual state of things in each region. The foregoing descriptions give an outline of the international situation surrounding our country in the period following World War I.

Now looking upon the national defense establishments of our country under such surrounding circumstances, I could not but recognize that they were left in their pre-war status, falling behind those of other countries during World War I and showing no trace of progress, being as poor in equipment and armament as ever. Even up to date machine-guns, not to speak of airplanes and tanks, were scarcely distributed to the army. Such being the case,

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all-round maneuvers were utterly out of the question. The people at large abused the army as good-for-nothing and not worth its salt, and not only refused to give the necessary budget, but also held it in contempt. Let me give some examples:

The soldiers, in their sham battles were given small pieces of plank and small rods instead of machine-guns. Small flags were used as targets.

These soldiers, who had been recruited from the extremely impoverished rural communities, were obliged to go through the maneuvers by making imitation sounds of machine-guns by means of these small pieces of plank and small rods. In place of real tanks, models of tanks made of newspapers were used. Two soldiers, carrying this model tank marched crying "Tank, tank!" It was against this paper tank that an anti-tank-sham-fight was practised. A small paper model airplane placed at the top of a barbecue stick was carried by a soldier, who cried, "Airplane, airplane!" Against this an anti-aircraft-sham-fight was practiced. At that time we had no poison gas masks, no motor cars, and no wireless telegraph apparatus. The soldiers were obliged to wear their clothing so long that it was so worn out as to look like a house-cloth. And the soldiers were so much afraid of wearing out their boots that they were obliged to perform bayonet exercises barefooted.

So were the provisions. The expenses allowed for subsidiary articles of diet were so meager that the food offered was naturally bad. Fuel for stoves was so scanty that trees in the yards of barracks had to be cut down to be used as fuel instead. The barracks

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were infested with termites and bed-bugs, but no budget was provided for their extermination. The furniture and articles of the officers' assembly hall were damaged, the curtains looked like rags, chairs were broken, and carpets torn. It became so hard to maintain the officers' assembly hall as to make three meals a day difficult that they were constrained to sell precious memorials to defray necessary expenses. Moreover, what by reduction of their salaries, and what by elevation of the standard of living, the private life of officers became so difficult that they could hardly feed their families. To say nothing of clothing, they had to live in quarters side by side with those of the lower classes. Much less could they afford to employ maid servants. Electric lights were not sufficient at night. The miserable life of junior officers who had families was beyond description, so much so that they lacked the energy necessary to perform their daily duties. And on account of the confusion of thought and the prevalence of peaceful atmosphere, the army was deemed unnecessary. People at large looked down upon the soldiers and often abused them in the trolley cars, saying that the spurs of their boots were a nuisance. Once trouble arose when an officer at the head of a group of soldiers was branded as an idiot by a street-car conductor because he got in the conductor's way. Such instances are too numerous to be mentioned.

Such was the general attitude of the people at large toward the army, and this was the first and chief reason why young men at large, especially young officers, came to entertain seriously various thoughts and sentiments.

Looking over the rural communities from which the majority of the constituent elements of the Army came, they

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they were at the bottom of impoverishment on account of the post-war depression. Many a middle-class farmer became bankrupt, and as for the small farmers, their condition was really appalling. The enlisted conscripts practiced in the daytime the above-described childish sham battles and at night in the corners of the barracks there were heard the sobs of these young men who were crying at the thought of the straightened circumstances of their families. Innocent and pure-hearted young officers who are responsible for the education and upbringing of these conscripts with whom they were in touch day and night, at last came to be concerned with the situation. Their spirit which regarded fame and wealth with utter indifference in their devotion to the cause of national defense, began to pay special attention to the problems of politics, economics, and thought. First of all, they cried loudly for the relief of the rural communities, earnestly hoped for the stabilization of the people's life, and demanded the self-awakening of political and financial circles. And they were desirous of strengthening national defense at least to the extent of bringing it up to the type during World War I, if not to the post-war type on the same level with that of the other Powers, so as to obtain the feeling of security against the state of affairs then prevailing. It seems that they were carried away by the zeal to act in conformity with the Imperial wishes to contribute to the peace of the world.

On the other hand, the state of social affairs of our country was such that owing to the business boom during World War I, people had drifted into luxurious and licentious habits, prices soared up, and soon thereafter a financial panic set in. Viewed from the outside, the governmen

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authorities lacked administrative ability, and gave the people the impression that they were absorbed in pursuing only fame and wealth. A sign of degradation and corruption began to loom in the political world. The brains of the Army were also drawn into the vortex and lacked the spirit of freshness. Bribery cases occurred one after another, and the decorations scandal caused the people to knit their brows. Autonomous government units, large and small, including Tokyo City, were so corrupted that they were commonly called the pandemoniums of corruption. The strife between the two big political parties hampered the sound development of the Diet, with the result that the benefits of constitutional government were not realized. And though the state of affairs was such that there was no sense of security in national defense as described above, even the indispensable military budget was drastically reduced without the understanding of the Army, (reduction of ¥ 30,000,000 at that time) and the Army's equipment was left in the pre-war stage as ever. It was then rumoured generally that the military authorities were rather engrossed in pleasing and compromising with the political parties. Meanwhile officers and men were forced to be contented with childish training amidst such a gloomy situation. And the Japanese people were given the general impression that the military authorities had failed to do their best in the Disarmament Conference to make the Powers adequately understand the real state of affairs in our country, meantime a policy inconsistent with the fundamental moral principles of our country was put in force. And the Army itself was not necessarily upholding the basic

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principle of the establishment of the army. While thoughtful officers were deeply regretting the situation, substantially one-third of the Army (about 50,000 persons in the first reduction and four divisions in the second reduction) was disarmed. The prestige of officers was socially obliterated and marriages became difficult for them. On the other hand, the gulf between the rich and the poor widened more than ever; persons of youthful ardour began to curse the capitalists, the antipathy toward the financial circles and the political parties grew more and more intense and cry against the status quo became public opinion. The Leftists and the Rightists though differing with each other in respect to fundamental ideology, put up a common front in the advocacy of the breakdown of the status quo. Thus the one ran in the direction of Communism, while the other pursued the course of Fascism. Genuine moderate thought was despised as lukewarm and its power was not strong enough to be recognized. The numerous unfortunate incidents which occurred successively thereafter had been germinating amidst such a state of affairs. The young officers who had already awakened to the state of social affairs but had found no one among the military leaders to whom they could disclose their predicament, naturally sought such men from society at large. Approaching persons in thought circles outside, the Army, they exchanged views on current affairs and unbosomed themselves. Gradually inclining in this direction, they in their irresistible pure heart and youthful ardour, apparently resolved not to rely upon help from without but to do away with the status quo by their own efforts. And they were ready to lay down their lives for the cause. I hope that they, having determined to

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sacrifice their lives, cared little for their own promotion and the welfare of their homes and even went so far as to swear among themselves "not to enter the I.R.M. General Staff College" and "not to marry." Thus toward the close the TAISHO Era, it seems that the pure-hearted able young officers exchanged confidences among the classmates and formed a blood brotherhood. I am told that when this was scented by the military authorities, they were ordered to dissolve the brotherhood and were put under strict surveillance. But these young officers who had already made acquaintance with thought circles outside the army were apparently not tranquilized. And it was judged that the general situation was gradually advancing in the direction of breaking down the status quo, such that the situation became more and more serious.

Thoughtful persons who had sensed this tense situation did their utmost to prevent the outbreak of inauspicious events, by devising such measures, wherever they could, as would prevent the young officers from falling into dangerous thoughts. And cries were raised for the inculcation of Japanese spirit with the purpose of guiding them into thought based upon true Japanese mercy and generosity.

Amidst such a situation we were visited by the big ANANTO Earthquake. Further stimulated by this calamity, some awoke to their worth, while others abandoned themselves to despair. For instance, there was such an unprecedented case as the joint opposition of the officials of the Railway Ministry and the Justice Ministry against the reduction of their salaries. This is enough to show the extent to which the government authorities had lost their prestige. While our country was under such a situation for more than ten years, both our home and foreign policies failed to produce satisfactory results. The situation grew worse and worse day after day from the TAISHO Era to the SHOWA Era. The agitation in naval circles

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by the outcome of the Naval Disarmament Conference further accelerated this tendency. Thus the whole army and naval circles as well as the general public was filled with this atmosphere. And the country was replete with voices crying loudly for security of livelihood bolstering of national defence, promotion of diplomacy, and purification of thought. Spirited youths, be they students, peasants, or soldiers, all steadily lost presence of mind. Amidst such a serious situation, the authorities concerned lacked competent guiding principles and failed to win the hearts of these young people.

By the fourth or fifth year of SHOWA, this situation reached the ignition point, to the great apprehension of thoughtful persons. As the situation could be clearly judged even by me, who was then a divisional commander in a provincial district, one could well understand the general atmosphere in the central quarters in the metropolis. As was expected, the confusion in the session of the 59th Diet seems to have served as the impetus for an explosion. And it seems that subsequent political, military, and financial circles entered a period of great reformation. To all appearance they began to move along trackless paths. That things had come to such a pass was not due to the work of a single day. Moreover one could hardly tell who were to blame for it. Under pessimistic circumstances, with troubles from within and without, it goes without saying that, except those who were mad after fame and profit, people who were more or less in touch with the trend of international affairs and anxious about the future of their country could not have remained idle and passive spectators. Particularly in the case of innocent and spirited young men who were not old enough to be discreet in their thought, the fact that they stood up to sacrifice and devote themselves to the cause of saving their country was

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the outcome, of the chaotic situation that prevailed from the end of the Taisho Era to the beginning of the Showa Era, although such an action cannot be said to be a moderate righteous path. Indeed, their conduct was unpardonable, but I think we should be generous enough to sympathize with the motive. It could be probably said that their superiors were duty bound to put themselves in their places and lead them to the right path. In a word, that things had come to such a pass might well be attributed to the accumulation of various causes brought about by the fact that the reins of the government were in the hands of men who failed to take a farsighted view of the general trend of the world either in politics or in military affairs during and after the World War I.

Young officers, whose earnest opinions could hardly be appreciated by the internal military authorities, turned to thought circles and other elements outside the army for giving vent to their discontent. Moreover, to all appearance they had already decided to sacrifice their lives. When they perceived the general trend of the army after the 59th session of the Diet, they apparently joined the middle-aged officers of the central military circles, and their actions became visibly active since then.

When I was transferred from the post of divisional commander to that of the Vice-Inspector-General of Military Training and arrived in TOKYO in August, young officers in groups frequently visited the Three Chiefs of the Army with petitions for the relief of the country. Most of them were young officers of the Artillery and Engineering School or regimental young officers, and all of them carried petitions written in blood. And when in July a requiem was held in memory of Captain Shintaro NAKAMURA, who had been murdered in cold blood by Chinese soldiers in the interior of MANCHURIA during his tour of that region some ten odd young

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officers made out a large flag of the rising sun painted with fresh blood and hoisted it at the memorial service hall

The pacification of such a trend of affairs as this could not have been accomplished by ordinary means. In NANCHURIA there occurred the MANTOSHAN Event in which Koreans were persecuted by the Chinese. This was followed by the Manchurian Incident and then by the so-called October Incident. Thus the situation became more serious than ever. Although I was then the Vice-Inspector-General of Military Training and had little direct relation with international affairs and other political matters, paid considerable attention to the thought problem and felt it necessary to take the following items into consideration to pacify the situation. While I was studying how to cope with the situation, the Manchurian situation went on expending and our country moved on toward a crisis. Amidst such increasing crisis, three months elapsed, when I was appointed War Minister. Thereupon I tried to put the following plans into practice in order to rectify and purify thought.

1. To make the officers and men self-conscious of the basic principle of the establishment of our army as a moral entity.
2. To demand of those in charge of political affairs to administer the state affairs in accordance with the basic principle of our constitutional government.
3. To bring up national defence at least to the level of World War I.
4. To vitalize diplomacy so as to stabilize the Far East and promote international co-operation.
5. To have those in charge of economic affairs deliberate on the rationalization of industries in accordance with our national structure.
6. To stabilize people's livelihood, especially the relief

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of rural and fishing communities.

7. To rectify and purify thought.

Nevertheless, the fighting in MANCHURIA was then going on in full blast and steadily expanded day after day, so much so that if left to take its own course, it would threaten the stability of the Far East. So it was urgently necessary to restore order and stop the fighting. Whereupon it was decided to pacify the situation by uniformizing the Government's policy so as to speedily deal with the problem without running into trackless paths. And in the army I gave instructions to young officers to act in accordance with the underlying principle of the establishment of the army, warning them against rashness and advising them to devote themselves to their duties as a moral entity. And we made the superiors individually dissuade the infatuated young officers from committing rash acts, and we did our best to transfer the radical elements among the middle-aged officers from the central posts to field posts, where they were assigned to the training of troops. At that time the Blood League Incident occurred from among the civilians but, fortunately, no young officers were lured into this incident. The young officers who had been reported at that time as having decided to do things at the risk of their lives, calmed down. Subsequently some of them entered the Army General Staff College, while others married. They swore not to appeal to illegal means. And not a single young army officer participated in the conspiracy and actual assassination of Premier INUKI, which took place in May. It is really regrettable, however, that some students of the Military Academy were tempted to take part in the assassination, which participation was regretted by the young officers also. Thenceforth the young officers quieted down for the time being. Except Captain MURAKAMI, one of the ringleaders of the February 26th Incident, entered the

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Army General Staff College.

As regards thought, there was so much confusion at that time that it may well be called the age of civil wars in thought. So, in order to prevent the young officers from becoming ultra-Leftists or ultra-Rightists, and also to check them from being dazzled by fascistic thought which was then vigorously advocated, we did our best to stabilize this turbulent thought through the following measures: Clarification of our national structure; observance of Imperial Rescripts and the Imperial Mandates' mutual assistance in the spirit of honest friendship based on the Imperial wishes of enabling each individual to have his proper place in accordance with the spirit of mercy and generosity; reformation of indolent people through diligence and rearing them in the magnificent freedom of nature through "NIGIRITUM" (Spirit of the Divine Virtue that created the Universe). That is the spirit based on the divine will of creation and evolution through unforced, natural benevolence -- free natural life itself, which is the source of benevolent love, charity and other virtues. It is the very spirit in which we recognize the essence of the divine spirit of the Goddess Founder of our Empire; service to the cooperative social life through the milk of human kindness and austere sense of honour; observation of the Imperial Rescript, which was granted at the time of the accession to the Throne of His Majesty the Emperor, for the promotion of friendship in diplomatic relations, and thereby maintain world peace, and promote the welfare of mankind, and the establishment of the foundation of peace by promoting Oriental culture and harmonizing and

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adjusting Eastern and Western cultures through the adoption of the good points of the latter, with which to exalt the Japanese spirit. We emphasized this program on every occasion, and fostered it not only among young officers but also the army at large, thereby making them observe the underlying principle of the establishment of the Army. And since many of the points which our Army had adopted from the German system since the Meiji Restoration were sometimes found to be incompatible with the basic principle of the establishment of the Army, we admonished the young officers to become a true Japanese Army for the propagation of the Imperial way, and to return to the true Japanese Army by extricating themselves from the German military type.

In our country, up to this time, whenever things came to an impasse, we have regained stability by serving faithfully in obedience to the Imperial wishes and in accordance with the spirit of the Imperial wishes. Yukichi FUJIZAWA, who was reputed to be a liberalist, wrote as follows in his "Essay on the Imperial Household" in about the 15th Year of Meiji (1882):

"Our Imperial Household is a gem unblemished from time immemorial. Under and amidst its brilliant rays we, the Japanese people, have maintained our social order. This precious gem should neither be touched nor its center disturbed... PURL: http://www.legal-tools.org/doc/81b46d/ The Imperial Household moderated the friction in the people's political opinions; it restrained and directed the spirit of soldiers and sailors to the right path; it promoted nobility of character all over the country

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by rewarding dutiful children and chaste women; by setting an example of holding learning in high esteem and exalting military power, it made the learning of our Japan independent, rescued our arts from ruin, and thus increased the wealth of civilization. Indeed so great and noble are its charitable acts that they cannot be adequately described."

Dr. Hideyo NOGUCHI who was educated in the United States and was well known as a scientist and bacteriologist, said as follows (according to his biography): "Fortunately, there has been a strict demarcation between the Emperor and the subjects during the past ten odd centuries. Since the relation between the two has been the same as that between parents and children, there is no possibility of any nihilists or other such elements appearing in our country.. Suppose a powerful country destroyed our country, there would be no telling what kind of race the Japanese people would become. In all probability, they would become incomparably worse than nihilists of today and turn into an extremely dangerous nation. It is our greatest blessing that we have a national structure which is unchangeable through all the ages."

It has been customary from time immemorial for the Japanese people to look up to the Imperial Household in response to the call to return to true Japan in a period of disunity, as was the case in those days. And by doing so our people always succeeded in breaking down old evil customs. Therefore, to pledge, in such an age of turmoil, fidelity to the Imperial Household, and, in obedience to

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the Imperial Will with heart and soul, to emphasize the "Japanese Way" in order not to be misguided from the path of humanity, is rather the normal road to peace and the only way to prevent disturbances. The question of clarifying the national structure sprung from here and the question of "Japanese Spirit" arose here. To regard this as dangerous, extreme nationalism or to assume it to be the premise of militarism is, unfortunately, due to the fact that they do not understand the "Great Road" of our country. Such a view is wide of the mark. This misunderstanding on the part of the world was perhaps caused by the speeches of indiscreet persons and of the opportunists who sought momentary pleasure therefrom. It is the same with the term "HAKKO-ICHI-U" (T.N. Universal Brotherhood, literally eight corners under one roof). The origin of this term "HAKKO-ICHI-U" can be traced back to China. This word was quoted for the first time in Japan when the Emperor JIMMU promulgated his Imperial Rescript on the occasion of the establishment of the Imperial capital at Nashiware. I humbly interpret that the Emperor expounded the spirit of universal brotherhood by following the heavenly path of justice and cultivating righteousness, and that he showed us the meaning of homelike friendship and peace. Accordingly, not the slightest degree of the sense of aggression or exclusion is involved in this term. Nor was the Imperial policy of the Meiji Restoration exclusive, self-righteous, or despotic. The Emperor Meiji instructed that all measures should be decided by public opinion, advised that knowledge should be sought extensively all over the world, and also taught that each person be

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given his proper place and permitted to fulfill his own wishes. Accordingly, I humbly guess that his august will was to regard the people as the basis of the state ("tomi o moto to shi"), respect both Occidental culture, Oriental culture, and search for the true path of world peace under the harmony of these cultures. Indeed, I believe that this was the great way by which His Majesty the Emperor could save the country out of troubles into which it had fallen after World War I and to give peace to the people. But we should be on our guard against those who are apt to rashly take advantage of the situation or undertake novelties without discretion. As such men are the very elements who endanger the country and harm the world, it is necessary to differentiate and discern them.

Here I must venture to say another word about the spirit of the establishment of our Army. Looking back, I observe that a great many of the cultural things which we have today were patterned after those of America, England, Germany, and France at the time of the Meiji Restoration. Especially our Army and Navy were modelled after those of Germany, France and England. However since the spirit of the establishment of our Army calls for not only the mastery of military strategy and tactics, but also the manifestation of the benevolent "NIGIRITAI" spirit, which is our Imperial Way, the field of vision of the Army extends to the security of the people's livelihood and international fidelity, in addition to national defense. Particularly because most of the conscripts come from the rural communities while most of the officers come from the cities, their field of interest includes not only military matters, but also many other anti-

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 vities. Though military strategy and tactics should not be neglected since they form the basic duty, the Army should instead of aiming at fighting, cherish the desire to check troubles to the minimum through its virtue and influence, without bloodshed or fighting. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the Japanese Army and the German Army, whose chief object is to fight. His Majesty the Emperor has shown in the Imperial Mandate the paths of justice and humanity, and also taught that sincerity is the first principle. Our army is not, and should not be, warlike or aggressive. This is the reason why I have continued to cry out to our Army to get rid of the German military spirit and to revert to an Army which acts in accordance with the underlying principle of the establishment of the Japanese Army.

Our politics, diplomacy, and economy should in accordance with the same principle, pursue the policy of respecting each other's character and enabling each country to have its proper places and fulfill its own wishes. It should be brought home to our people that they should never be swayed by fame and profit only. The cases which I have mentioned are so comprehensive in scope that the above description is far from complete. At any rate, in accordance with the policy I have described above, I tried to arouse self-introspection and self-relection in various circles. However, inasmuch as the situation was such that the people had already become sick of the stagnant state of politics and lost hope, the explosion of pent up national sentiments gave rise to a public opinion which became

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so influential as to propel the Army. Externally, the Manchurian Incident was steadily expanding. As in the case of the collapse of the banks of a great river, no one hand could check this tendency. If some proper counter measures had been adopted toward the end of the Taisho Era or at the beginning of the Showa Era at the latest, many incalculable events and warfare could have been prevented. But it is very regrettable that, the opinions of far-sighted persons were not accepted by the authorities concerned. The torrential current moved on its natural course. As I now look back upon the by-gone days, I cannot help feeling very very sorry that, if men faithful to the Imperial Way had served at the Imperial Court, if wise intelligent persons who could see through the general trend of the times had existed among the statesmen, if there had been in the governing body of the Army generals who understood well the Great Principle, the establishment of the Army, and if great business men who could analyze the essence of economy had existed in the financial world, we might have been able to prevent the roots of these evils.

As the commotion inside the Army as well as among young officers came to a lull, a brief period of tranquillity followed. As for the Manchurian Incident, military operations came to an end when the Tengku Fact was concluded in May 1933. So we concentrated our energy on realizing other matters and tried to lead the radical trend toward a moderate, temperate direction. However, not satisfied with this measure, which was regarded as lukewarm, the "SHISEI-TEI" ("Divine Soldiers' Unit") rose up in May 1933, aiming at assassinating high ranking government

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authorities, including myself. No Army officers were involved in this case. From about that time signs of gradual alienation were observed between the young Army officers and the staff of the central Army Headquarters.

Since the end of the Manchurian Incident in the summer of 1933, we tried to foster diplomacy, carry out the relief of the rural communities and fishing villages, and to enforce constitutional government through harmonious action between the Diet and the Government. In the autumn of the same year, the Minister concerned held several meetings to discuss chiefly diplomacy and the problem of rural communities. After the general outlines had been decided, preparations were made to submit them to the Diet. Meanwhile I had been thinking of proposing a world peace conference to decide upon the fundamental policies for establishing peace, including the settlement of the Manchurian problem. But, falling ill on the New Year's Day of 1934, I resigned from the post of War Minister in the latter part of January, so I could not realize my intentions. Thereafter the situation grew worse in every direction. Some persons went so far as to slander even me. During the years 1934 and 1935 there again occurred clash of opinion within the Army, and it seemed that young officers were at odds with staff of the central Army Headquarters. In consequence the tables were turned and resulted in the February 26th Incident. After that incident, the tide turned and, according to my judgment, it seems that things developed along the line of thought held by the staff of the central Army Headquarters.

During the two years 1934 and 1935, the Military

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Academy Incident, the transfer of General M'ZIKI from the post of Inspector-General of Military Training representations by young officers concerning the purge of the Army and the KIZUNA Incident (murder of Major-General M'G'T., Director of the Bureau of Military Affairs by Lt. Col. KIZUNA) occurred successively. At last these led to the illegal action of the February 26th Incident, to our great regret. Meanwhile, our Army remained in the state of pre-war type. Even after the Manchurian Incident had arisen, there was a plan for abolishing two divisions. And, as far as I know, there was positively no such fact as that the Army worked out a plan of aggression, or that it expanded armaments from the militaristic point of view. The fact was rather contrary to this. We rather felt apprehension over the weak armaments. And I have not heard the young officers entertained such sinister designs. According to my judgment, all that they aimed at and planned were internal reforms.

Since what I have written above concerns events of about fifteen years ago, which I have jotted down by retracing my memory, there is much to be desired, but I am sure that the outline as given here is correct.

February 1946.

第一次世界大戰後昭和時代「主張承認內外情勢之青年將校」

卷之四

Def. doc 674

第一次世界大戰には我國は日英同盟、法蘭西、イタリア、英國、聯合軍と共に協進を宣言する同盟國に付して戰つた。然るに主として協進勢力を支那大陸及太平洋より駆逐し一部の艦隊を地中海に於て更に若干の武器を聯合國より蘇聯國に供給され外大洋の戰争を除くありす而して其主なる戰争は英日の攻囲戰である僅かに一師團強を鄰國に逼かす飛行機の如きは極めて微々たるものなり。其後此第一次世界大戰中列國が死力を盡して戰つた間於て未だに和平を棄てたる事無く其生産品は世界に供給するに止まらず、抑且第一次世界大戰前の各國軍備は小銃火砲を主とする軍事未だ出現せず自軍火薬本舗より開発飛行機、浴室、其後新兵器の出現により著しく戰争の様式に變更を來し事なり。而して國家組織戰型となり各國の戰争に対する國民的、國際的情勢の變遷は國家は各國共何れも著しく進歩し戰争様式は二、三の一大改新期に入り、同時に國際法も其研究も一層深刻に為されるべからざる事となつてゐる。

英國第一次世界大戰三年前半，戰爭尚未開始，其工業力

160.

Doc 674

Def

頤丁兵器制作從事戰場於其經驗に基き攻防
共に非寧少進歩を爲し戰前戰法一變し戰車飛行
機自動大砲機甲部隊及電氣通信の進歩による廣汎な
地域戰も可能となり斯くは既に第一次世界大戰
中所謂大戰型として立体戰法の第一段階に入り而て大
戰後ヨーロッパ列國何れも豊富な經驗に基き所謂大戰後型
完全化した立体的軍備を整ふと共に他方再び斯の如き戰争を
避けんとする意欲又戰後の國力恢復を爲す人がため軍備縮
小化を安全保障の下ヨーロッパ列國取極め爲すに努力し且
大戰冲製下に過剰兵器は廢止を爲すに意圖す

更に第一次世界大戰已有以來の大戰にて各國民衆公斯
大砲放射及爆弾による戰争の惨状に目を蔽ひ平和愛好心
の高潮に達し平和風の世界に渴朢に至り之の人情。当然
にして又此の如き大戰の再發を避ける事は人類福祉。爲
め当然にして斯であることをす

之を約言すは軍備及戰法。就は大戰前型。一躍進
む實に近代的である大戰後型に入世界永久平和企圖
就て各種會議。何れ幾多。條約。一々下記

16.2

Dec. 674

A. A.

悔定を告げたり然るに遺憾な事は斯く種々の取扱を爲せしに拘らず尚依然として猜疑。今去らず新時代の軍備建設に懇意を傾けつたりし跡は廢然たるを有り從つて其後我軍飛行機、飛達、目撃見付キチカあるを見る。又條約にて毒瓦斯の使用及空爆を禁じたるに拘らず列國軍少々瓦斯マスクの較量備並に都市防空工の方法に就て汲々たるものあり乍り之を察するに平和に努力してあるに拘らず未だ平和討する根本方針に人生觀世界觀宇宙觀に従事したる哲學的觀念上就ての考究是らず人類愛人に對する誠意に缺く事ありしに就て見るべく何れにして遺憾ながら世界有識者の努力なりに拘らず之に酬ひられず信頼平和の域を脱セし自然各國共に自衛上よりする國防、空備を急ぐ傾向たり。是は己を自らもはめたり。其のことは「遺憾至極」と云ふ。

以上に第一次世界大戦中及其後の情勢にて斯ケルツ欧洲の戦場に多くの兵力を使用せし列國は此乾坤を覆へ下が如き戦争のため各方面に至り進歩の目覺きキカ音カリ。に及し難つて我國の情勢を見れば遺憾ながら欧洲の戦場に遠ざかりしたる所今に戦争及戦争に因するバーグの觀念より遠ざかり萬事眞剣に進歩しつつあり。當時の時代觀は後れ自然

1915.1.29.

674

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思ふ凡俗の健全性を失ひ民情頗る廢颓の如いたる。
而も此時世界の平和は我が國にも当然生起し歎かず
何事の進歩も國力の充實もなし依然に大歎が型の
國內にまことに放置せられつゝ事備不必要論一世を風靡し
殷を憂慮する形勢を呈せり一方歐洲に起つし眞剣なる
平和保障熱は國際聯盟の成立となりしも其構成の着手
は多くは歐洲を中心として立案せり而もより如き主戰場
下にさりし東洋に關ては自ら現實の情勢を鑑みて三義的
の歴を示す。

當時東洋の形勢は我が永遠の友邦にさるが如き中華
民国は殘念ながら内に相次ぎ群雄割據したる所在す
動搖し特に我が主張も關係深き滿洲地方に於て甚しく
ありたり又如何なる理由によるが明がなくさうも此時中華
民国内に於ける排外熱、日盛にて我が國が心血を以て想
も參照して當初の聲明に基づき列國の首領間も源みて
青島が中華民国に遷附せるにも拘らず却て排日抗日教育
盛んとなり又外家の帰郷も不眞となり僻遠地域の卒業者
し朝鮮には萬歳聲ありソ聯も亦其諸施設逐漸擴張
我が國との復讐と並んで漸く安定を得て久も彼の官の内
に其辯言を貢獻波太助が天王(當時攝政)御奉車を但騒
したる事件となり。刺殺を受けて兩國の關係は互人が期待し
たる程度に達せり然る米英との間には依然好感を持続し得
て久も日英同盟廢棄の如く種差別的立場を主張してゐる

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感情的隙を生じ大正年間中期には諱看として大に憂慮せられ即ち東洋の天地は第一次世界大戦後欧洲の如く安定しあはず却て大戦前より悪化せし情勢にありて現實の形勢は向單なる事務の法規に法律に得たりしもありなり吾人が國際聯盟成立により其事務會に於て大に其地位毎に現實に即して其の高遠なる理想の精神とを發現し其成功を竹下ともと之が存す

之は第一次世界大戦後の我が國を中心とする國際情勢の極端に板正斯の如き四國の情勢下に於て我が国防施設を見れば一は次世界大戦に於て落伍せしもや一次世界大戦前型よりまことに何の進歩も行なはれず武器も兵器も食料も工事も機関銃すら沿人軍隊へ配布せられず況んや飛行機及ぶ戦車など其綜合演習の如きは田舎もの耳一方其間は軍隊と並用の長物轄つがじと實り難旨と雖いざるゝが其価値も極度に達せし今一二の例を擧げん

演習中兵卒は機関銃の代りに小枝と小棒を持てて小旗を標識と極度に取扱せし農林より徵募せられ兵士は此の小枝と小棒と以て機関銃の機関銃をかきかきとめたりて演習を終じるを得ず又戦車の代りに新開紙を以て紙戦車の型を作り一名の兵卒にて持てて戦車々々と呼ぶ行進するに付し対戦車戦車の演習をする。

16.5

又竹竿の頭端に小型の標準型飛行機を挿み立てる
飛行機と叫び之に付して飛行機演習と云ふ。

当時モースマスクも有り無論自動車も無線機も
有り被服は難しく以下とまで傳へ唱へるゝ程使用
期間を通じて靴の如きも破損し多く足銃術放習
をす程度なり

給養も亦然り副食の経費僅少にて頗る困窮し腰袋
の新装令と當初の檀木にて之を行ふ（天官に白蟻
害南京出で難生であるも付予方法の予算に缺けり）。

(2) 下次頁)

No. 6

6/74 駐校集会所の講用度品は破損しカーテンは縫縫のゆく荷子は被れ紙縫は裂け一日三食の費用すら困題となる位に集会所の難持困難となり懸念の貴重なる物品を賣入却加之斜校の私生活は減俸と社会生活程度度の向上にため教員の生活維持困難にして被服は固よりの事其往先は甚くは下層階級のものと斜を並べサ中は國下り傭入より経費を除く教官電燈も十分ならず下級斜校にして象般を有するもの非禮言語に絶し毎日の仕事すら之を含めます氣力を缺くに至る又思想混亂と和平風と云軍隊を無用物とし一般に軍人を駆逐し電車中々に於て相車は御簾ありと云ふが如き漫馬を聞く事多くかくす軍隊を引率する斜校が電車より軍車より御簾ありと云ふ馬御馬はこれを問題を起した事すくあり

此種の事は教へ来れば教導にはひともいり以至也間。軍隊に対する態度にして青年一般特に青年斜校が各種の思想を眞剣に起し起るる第一の原因なり

答：（1）被减分子大于被减数的数（被减数）；（2）被减分子小于被减数的数（被减数）；（3）被减分子等于被减数的数（被减数）。

貴會著一朝之命辭 懷觸了他之心事 青年無後漸入世
相濟 會有此之望 身為健國防 他已執持一切 事無不
吉 有此度子無事 事無往不濟 且見其意不虛注 直可見其光 豐

（）政治上は國体生活の普及を第一に政策を財政の自體を
重視する傾向が強調され、大蔵省の近畿二府に之を主
とし、各府に支那官署を設け、財政の運営を主として金庫

當時之學生和老師都有感於此，故宜稱為「七君子」。

始於歐洲的殖民擴張漸進地影響著殖民地的社會經濟事件一起，會

得。言之有據，會有誠。這就是我們黨在十分了解世界形勢，努力研究了世界各國的經驗之後，對於此項問題，很本領地提出一個總念，就是：「應當實行的，就是事本

6 以上原画人物等の回路、断面等の圖面を備

6.9 信頼は他人の了解の上に成るが、個人の感想は行けり。期の
事は、一歩一歩、確実に前進するが、必ずしも決
心、儀式の行はれども、既に既成のもの、人間の行はれ
ば、必ずしも顧み、般の心の運轉の如きは、必ずしも
事の如きをもつて、期の如きをもつて、必ずしも其の
事の如きをもつて、期の如きをもつて、必ずしも其の

同期生等と語り合ひ了望圖を爲せが如く此事軍方局の知所となり
之が陸軍三命じ真監視官職に付く然れども既に軍以外の思想界と相
知りし之等生有事時校は容易に解りに至ると思へず人（彼等相手刻々
現状打破と言ふ方向に進む）なりと判断せれ事能は容易に至るが故に
識者中皆有様を感知せむは如何にして此風向と不祥な事件の發生に至
れりかして至る處に思想の過激な指揮を防ぐ下策を講じて是の日本に於て
主体の軍思想に導くべし日本精神鼓吹の声を起せり

此形勢の間に關東大震災が起り人心更に大搖動を蒙るに至り自覺的
一部の自暴自棄の官吏減俸問題は日本全道有司者關東令統東
反対運動と下層官吏の事件（起りに及ばず）に於て當時の政府事務者
威信の失墜せしを知るに至るべ一我國の情勢に於ては十餘年にして
例外的事件に良好な結果を有す一日毎に悪化して不寧間に於て是の
間で海軍軍艦會議の結果に於て海軍部の動機は益々此勢を助
長し一般人と若ては海軍全般にも刻々此空氣を満すに至り生じ
安寧の國情を完全外文タ振興思想の延び日本國内に満るに至る
空氣が日本は既に農民と傳人との間はす逐次平靜を失ふに至り便
利を蒙るゝ者、情勢に付しも當事者に十数年指導の理念にて之等の
人等の言動と接するに至り

此形勢は昭和四年半頃に亘りて發大兵に付し調査者（ノルマニ）に深思に
包まれて一地方に師團長に之の直旨に上りて略して略判断
得るゝ事に付し中央に於ける空氣を察するに至る
考へる所れども十九議會の謀議風潮は根本發動機と付し即ち此
以後に於ける改政界と軍部も財界も一大革新期であるが如く無軌
道一朝き仰めに付しに見ゆ事ニに至りしは士官の如く一月の事
にあり又何人の罪とも判別し難く内憂外患の事非親の情況

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ほに於ては有利に余念無き事はござりず、然らず大く世界の大勢に關する國家前途の憂がちかはるに、蹠然身を捨て、故國の衝に立つて、事に至るには中庸と得て、正道にはありて、と雖も一方混乱を大正天明より昭和之初頃の勢が全般に於て其行為は許し得べからずも其心事は、と謂ふ事、雖曰重然ふべからずと思惟せらる故に其心事を深めて之を正道に歸せしも先輩の義務と稱すべきか、一言にして書せば事、には第一次世界大戦中及其以後政治に至る事にも云々世界の情勢を窺觀する識見と公私、に最も多く政權の手にありし諸國の軍機の總決算何れと稱す事に至る事、自己の抱負せらるゝ劍を意見の軍内部に於て了解を得る事、と雖も、唯軍部の心相異り、其他に頗りて僅かに内々情報を遺り、且既に決死の覺悟を定めに、見るべ、青年將校等は第三十九議會以後の軍一般の動向を承知するや軍中央の少壯將校とも合流し、如く西本其、行動は深くして、下看取せらる。

No. 11 余が昭和二年八月中旬、師團長より教育總監本部長に轉任し、東京に着し、三頃、下有事特校は教名定、國家教育省の本部に集められて、翌年三月、官三、六月間、下有事、再び一ヶ月の事務に就く。其事務は、砲工監督

シニ下有事直

0164 0002 2294

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1912

又は隊附の吉川平将校にして行ひ小も血壹斗リ。八
七日頃中村震太郎大尉が旅行途中滿洲奥地にて
支那兵のために虐殺せられたる慰靈祭等には十數名
が鮮血を以て大日章旗を作り之を式場に掲げると
勢力あり。此情勢を鎮静する之方法は尋常の如
にあらず。向も行く滿洲には支那人による朝鮮人迫
害の万寶山事件あり次いで滿洲事變勃發し更に
所謂十月事件あり次々に形勢険悪となる。余は
教育監督部にありて國際關係其他政治關係には眞悟
關係薄かりしも思想問題に就ては大に留意あり
を以て之を鎮静すためには先づ左の諸項に就て考慮を
要すべきものと認め其対策に就て研究しつありたり
斯くすゞ間に滿洲問題は益々拡大、國內は刻々危
局を臨むに至り。約二ヶ月を経過し十二月陸軍大臣往
せらるゝや逐次左諸案を実行し思想の正純化に力を致せり
一、我軍の道德的存在として建軍の本義に就て自覚を興
し、
二、政治方面の当事者に我立憲政治の本体に鑑み諸政を行
ふを要望
三、國防を少くも第一次世界大戰中の程度にて整備
す。事
四、外交を振作して極東の平定と國際協調を為す事。
五、經濟關係者に我國體に基き其合理化を期す事。
前すること。

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六 生活の安定特に農山漁村の救済

七 思想の正純化

然れども當時滿洲の軍閥は醉にして國母に擴大し行きを放棄せば遂に極東の安定を失ひべきまでに至り、も知らず速かに之が秩序を回復し兵火を終止する要あり即ち其対策を樹て政府の方針を一定した無軌道に陥らしむる事なく速かに其处置を取り事端より安靜に善き處する事として軍内に於ては極力軍事の本義に基き輕舉する事なく道德的存とて本務に專念すべきを訓示し又個々に熱中せし青年將校と說得せしめ少壯將校の多く進分子を中心より軍隊鍛成事任の隊附訓練に従事しに努力したり偶々此時民間側より起りし血盟團事件ありしも青年將校は之に誘致せしる事なく諒宥を得たり當時決死の覚悟を爲せりと傳へられたる青年將校も漸く落ちつたが専後陸軍大學に入るもの結構せしもの等ありて合法手段によつる事なくせざるが以て五月に起りし大蔵首相等暗殺計画反対には一人の青年將校も参加しあり、唯遺憾なりしは士官学校生徒が誘はれ参加せしむる青年將校等も之を遺憾と居たる程なり。而未青年將校の動向は一應靜まりたり。二二六事件の首魁の一人たる村中元大尉も此時陸軍大學に入学したるものなり。

思想に就ては當時は思想一戰國時代とも稱すべき

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混沌状态にありしを以て青年将校等の極左極右に走るを防ぎ又當時盛に唱へられたるフランク思想に惑ふを阻止するため我が國民として先づ國体を明にし勅語勅諭を奉体し仁愛の徳を以て全般に慶を得しめ芯を遂げしむる聖旨に基き家族的親善を以て相互に扶助し勤勉以て道情に陥りたるものと匡正し飽くまで和魂を以て自然の大自由の中に生成化育す如くし人情の裕かき義理の堅さを以て社會協同生活に奉し國際間には今上天皇即位の時の勅語の國文を親善にし永く世界の平和を保つ人類の福祉を益す旨を奉じ東洋文化の振興と共に西洋文化の長を採り東西文化の融合調節により平和の基礎を建すべきを以てしめて日本精神の揚揚を為す如くして此混沌思想を安定せんとしてこれを事毎に強調し青年将校は國より軍一般に之れが思想の涵養を有すべしめ以て陸軍の本義に則りしめんとせり。又我が陸軍が明治維新以来範を独逸に取りたるもの多く稍もすと我が陸軍の本義に則りざるものあるを以て皇道宣布の通り日本軍を小普軍型より脱して眞の日本軍に帰れと諭した。

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②

元来我國は諸政の行詰りに際しては一に天皇の聖旨を体し其精神を
遵奉して實に奉行す所に安定期來れり彼の自由主義者として
有名なヨシモト福沢諭吉氏が明治十五年頃の帝室論に
我が帝室は万世無缺の玉壁にして我が日本の人氏は此玉壁の明光に
照され此中にありて内には社會秩序を維持たり此室玉に觸
ふべからず。帝室は國民政諭の事務を緩和し陸海軍人
の精神を制して其向ふ所を知らし考予御事有力のものを賞
して全國の徳風を宣ふし大を尚じ士を奮すすう例を示して我が
日本の學問を極めさせし文藝術を示し廣せしに於て人文明の
富を増進す。其功業の至大至重なることを誇りて云ふべからず
遂に居たり

又米國に於て教育を専門科学者細胞学者として有名なる
野口英世博士も次の如きことを述べ居たり（野口英世傳）
「幸に我が日本帝國は數十世紀の間至善と臣下との心が嚴然として
乱れず恰も親子の關係にあれば虚無黨の起りやがまし
勿論殊に一強國あつて日本を七百一と假定すれば日本國民は如何
かの民族となりや恐らく今日の虚無黨の比にあらざるに非常に
危險なる民族化しがまへしあつ万世に來らざる我が國体は吾人
の無上の幸福に候」と

即ち當時の如き統一を失ふ時既に日本に反れと叫ばれ國民が
皇室を仰ぐは古來一樣にして之を以て旧陋を打開し得たり
夫れ斯の如し故に斯の如く混じせざる時代には皇室に才する忠誠
を誓ひて天皇の聖旨を奉りて人道履行に誤るながら今も日本道を

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高麗十三年平和の尊道亂防の唯一の方法なり。國体明
徳説十三年日本精神論十三年起九月十九日禮湯
今國家主義とて危險視。或軍國主義。前後合て
今すれ遺憾。今國人道と解せ。かく生す。浙江の
其眞解。當今有時世界の解。解。格。之。此等
思慮。又。時。便。來。有。一。時。快。貪。人。之。言。論。
生。之。之。也。之。之。人。八。字。語。之。も。同。八。字。人。八
字。之。語。出。異。彼。在。國。下。用。之。れ。之。禮。武
天皇桓原。都。勇。給。折。勅。語。之。之。天。地。公。道。從
以。崇。養。山。海。首。同胞。和。親。和。之。精神。之。族。的。親
善。平。和。深。之。亦。給。心。之。之。洋。深。之。之。故。侵略。之。挑
之。之。竟。之。竟。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
為。善。之。為。善。萬。機。公。論。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
極。也。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
民。本。之。東。西。之。化。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
知。道。孫。武。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
次。世。大。戰。後。我。國。禍。亂。之。板。心。國。底。安。寧。之。得
之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
古。禍。下。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。

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故。軍。之。言。才。之。我。國。軍。精。神。之。顧。我。國。今。之。明。明
治。維。新。當。時。米。英。獨。佛。之。紀。事。取。之。也。多。之。就。中。陸。海。軍。之。獨。佛。
之。之。國。之。做。之。然。之。我。軍。之。精。神。之。軍。之。用。兵。作。戰。之。戰。
之。也。為。之。之。能。事。終。九。之。下。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
仁。恕。之。精。神。顯。現。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。之。
本。務。上。其。之。之。

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國民生活の安定と國際的信義にも小窓を有す。軍事上
 カ大部が國民人人より威信被る多くは而云々身乃は故に軍事上を
 考ふると共に其の現野は多方面に及ぶ。軍事作戦は固に其の本
 職がれは勿れに大がちるを元來軍事あるべき目的とす。其の本
 職は戰日下其の威徳にて得る事取れに限に防ぐ事は禁ず。今
 之小被逸等の戰斗本位を主とす事は某の想有る異にする
 ケン。勅諭にも之れの道人倫の常經表示させ給ひ誠を本
 教へ給ふ好戦とが侵略との軍事に非ざるに至りまに其の本位が
 なり。之れが陸軍に対する松逸の軍事精神上脱却して其の日
 本軍の本義に則る陸軍に反小被逸の續りに至り。我
 が國の政治と外交と將に入經濟と同一趣旨にて相互の人格を尊
 重し其の名義に所を得せしめれ遂にしたる日本主義にて假り其
 自己の名利の上に捉はれてはならぬ事に徹せざるべからざり。
 之等の件は事実既にして以上大に以て未だ十分に書意を得
 たよりに非ざり。以下の方針によりて各方面の自見反省を
 促したうも世相沿多年政治の次第に備え且つ希望を與
 ふたが既に體験せらる國民心情の爆發によりて本が輿論並
 声を推進せんとする勢あり。外に満洲の變の刻今が大に行
 あり大河の堤が決壊せらるが如く傳文手文の難を取らり若し大
 い壁も大正末期より昭和初頭に有り此の種の事は當
 得たらん。幾多の不祥の件も又其火起る所を得べ
 しに遺憾作り其の當時の政治者や意見の者に當者に
 容れりやず、一世の後として其の勢の赴せし所に奔流せり

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今は東會若し君側に會う道に至る會合が人会得、政治家は大勢も同様であるが、軍事艦艇は軍事のため、軍事家は軍人たる特徴あり財界に經濟の本領を検討する巨金が、此の手の島根を防衛し得たうへ返す（痛恨に堪へず所）

斯く古年將校始め軍内部の動搖も一応小康を得満洲に至る翌昭和八年五月塘沽協定を以て軍事行勸終息したるを以て、一層官能の諸項目の具現化を用ひ過激なる世相を中止稳定に導かんせしが此度更直を微温するも、昭和八年夏に日神兵隊事件起り、余を含む政府要人暗殺の手があり、其後軍將校は參加したるを以て此の端より古年將校は中央革命軍に漸く感情の阻隔を生じる兆あり

昭和八年夏在満洲に至るが、外交の擔任者、農山漁村の救済を実現し議會と政府より一致して立憲政治の奉公的運営を主としめんとして、同年秋五、外交農村問題を主とする関係大臣の会議を幾度か開催し、以上の大綱を決し議會に詔る

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事として準備を進めてゐる間に蘇聯平和會議を提唱して滿洲問題始め世界平和の根本方策決定をも意図せしが昭和九年元旦病を得同月下旬辞任其の実現を見ず其の後的情勢は再び諸事悪化の動向を辿り吾人に対しても中傷謗誣するものあり九年より十年に至り再び軍内部に於て意見の対立を生じ古年將校と軍中央幕僚との間に反目を生じたるもうろしく其結果ニニ六事件にまで逆轉し同事件後形勢は一變して軍中央幕僚の意図に添ふて進展へ行きたるものと判断せらる

此の昭和九一年の間に士官学校の件眞崎教育總監更人迷向問題肅軍に關する古年將校の意見具申、永畠軍務局長殺害事件等ありて遂に再び非合法のニニ六事件に至りたるは千秋の恨事とす

此尚軍は依然大戦前型に停頓し而て滿洲事変起りてよりも更に二師團廢止の案あり程にて陸軍が侵略主義計画を樹てしとか又は軍國主義的に軍備拡張せし等の事は余の知る範圍に於ては断じて無きものと信ず寧ろ反対に貧弱なる軍備のため不安に籠もれつゝありし有様なり又古年將校等も斯の如き意志ありしを聞かず一切は国内の改革にありしと判断せらる

才有五年前のるにてもあり記憶を辿りて記述せるもの、不備の点渺がらざるも輪廓を語りたるものと信す、